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McCUMBER'S DEFEAT IS BELIEVED LIKELY

His Support of Bonus Is
Last Desperate Effort to
Save Himself.

BETWEEN TWO FIRES

Republicans Fail to Indorse
Him and Leaguers Will
Not Follow Him.

FOUR RIVALS IN FIELD

Frazier Considered Strongest;
O'Connor, Brilliant Lawyer,
Named by Democrats.

Special Dispatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD.

PARGO, N. D., April 30.—Porter J. McCumber, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, candidate for re-election as Senator from North Dakota and supporter of the soldier bonus, is facing possible, almost probable, defeat in the accomplishment of his ambition. Support of the bonus, regarded here as a last desperate effort to rehabilitate himself with an influential portion of the North Dakota voting constituency, does not appear to have been of avail and is described as a typical action on the part of a Senator who wishes to insure his place regardless of what it may cost the people of all the other States.

The situation presented by Senator McCumber, fighting with his back to the wall to retain his position as Senator and as chairman of the Finance Committee which he has acquired through the operation of the archaic rule of seniority is one of the most dramatic in the list of Senatorial contests being held this year.

Background of His Candidacy.

In the background of Senator McCumber's candidacy is the situation presented by the disastrous experiment in State Socialism attempted by the Non-Partisan League on the one side while the opposite side of the picture is represented by the long domination of the State by Alexander McKenzie, the last of the great State bosses.

Significantly enough, the complaint against McCumber in North Dakota is that he is in league with both the elements and the senior Senator is pictured as attempting to walk back into the Senate with Arthur C. Townley, father of the Non-Partisan League, on one arm and McKenzie on the other. In arms against this unnatural combination, with the result that the Republicans at a recent convention held in Jamestown refused to indorse Senator McCumber, while the league has refused to follow the leadership of Townley in his effort to deliver his following to McCumber.

The league has indorsed the nomination of former Gov. Lynn J. Frazier for Senator on the Republican ticket. Three regular Republican candidates also are in the field, all of whom will reduce McKenzie to a few votes of the other, expected to file for the primaries on June 28.

The men already in the field in addition to Senator McCumber and former Gov. Frazier are Ormsby Mearns of Jamestown, former Representative P. P. Norton of Mandan and former Senator Gronna. The last is described as a very strong man but is expected to stay in the race.

Democratic Nominee.

The Democrats have nominated J. T. O'Connor of Grand Forks, a brilliant lawyer and a graduate of Yale, who came within a few votes of defeating the Non-Partisan League for Governor, Mr. Frazier, for that office when last elected and when the league was at high water mark.

In view of this situation, Republicans say, the State is confronted with almost a certainty of the nomination of Frazier for Senator, which will give to North Dakota the alternative of sending another Non-Partisan League Senator to sit beside Senator Ladd or of electing a Democratic Senator.

A singular feature of the situation is that Republicans who have been "carrying the banner" for years in this State seem to have little concern over this possible result, saying that in attempting to save the State from the blight of the Non-Partisan League they had no aid from the Democratic Administration when President Wilson was in office, nor from the Administration of President Harding. They succeeded recently in turning the Non-Partisan Administration out of office, in a recall election, but by a very narrow margin, and their chief concern now is in making the State victory permanent. The Senatorial fight looks small beside this accomplishment.

Before the advent of the Non-Partisan League in North Dakota the Republicans were divided among stalwarts and progressives. These divisions are forgotten in the fight against State socialism as represented by the Non-Partisan League, a fight in which the Democrats have entered with the Republicans.

No Room for Neutrality.

Both sides in this contest are intensely in earnest and there is no room for neutrality anywhere. It is between these two forces that Senator McCumber has been caught. The old time progressive Republicans bitterly resent the continued McKenzie alliance with McKenzie, which preserves McKenzieism, they claim, by an unequal alliance with league leaders, while all factions unite in condemning McCumber because he has not only refused to lead them in the fight against the league, but on the contrary has given the league aid and comfort.

It is in this complication of forces that an explanation of Senator McCumber's support of the bonus in opposition to the Administration financial necessities is seen. The ex-service men were largely instrumental in overthrowing the league administration of the State in the recent recall election. The service men who had been facing German bullets on the front had little sympathy with the war record of the league leaders, whom the service men charged with having engaged in sniping them from the rear.

Townley has just completed a jail sentence in Minnesota for disloyal utterances made during the war. Having failed to have the league delivered to him and facing the opposition of Republicans who bitterly resent his effort to placate the socialist organization, McCumber's opponents charge the bonus program furnished a desperate chance

to win to himself the support of this effective element, which has come to think of McCumber and Townley in the same breath.

They point to the failure of the Jamestown convention to indorse Senator McCumber also as an evidence of the refusal of the service men to be moved by this brazen material allurement.

Effect of McKenzie Rule.
 This sketchy presentation of the values involved in the McCumber Senatorial contest is necessarily incomplete. The story ramifies in all directions. It has its roots in the early days in North Dakota, when McKenzie ruled the State with a rod of iron and decided some twenty-three years ago that Porter McCumber was a "safe" man to send to the United States Senate. It has its final exemplification in the fallacies of the Non-Partisan League movement which attempted to inject the Russian experiment in the heart of the United States and which has well-nigh wrecked the prosperity of this naturally rich commonwealth.

The relationship between the general and conclusion of the story is close, for it was the McKenzie regime which sowed the seeds which have ripened into the carnival of political folly indulged in by the league, from whose ill effects the citizens of North Dakota are fighting to redeem the State.

It will be the purpose of additional articles resulting from a personal examination of affairs in North Dakota to unfold the story and place upon the screen the persons and issues involved in this battle over the future of Porter J. McCumber, a battle which has acquired national interest because of the position of influence now held by the chief actor.

True to McKenzie.

Some Senators change their alignments and disavow the forces which first created them. Even the members of Senator McCumber's staff say for him that, regardless of his attitude toward the old time friends, he has been true to the outstanding figure that participated in his original election throughout his political career. They profess that while they see the hand of McCumber it is the brain of Alexander McKenzie.

And who is Alexander McKenzie? Picture a huge figure, well above six feet, with reddish-brown hair and mustache, face heavy and full, a man mysterious when discussing politics, yet strangely communicative in moments of friendly conversation. For years he has been the object of bitter attack by many and of unswerving loyalty on the part of a few.

His career led him into Alaska, where the trouble he got into showed the strong hold he had gained on personal friends in the effort that was made by them to get him out of it. The heart of fiction and of many true stories, unpolished but forceful, loyal but revengeful, McKenzie is in a class by himself. Born in Canada, he drifted to the United States and in the early frontier years found himself on the outskirts of civilization near where what is Bismarck, the capital of the State. He was made Sheriff of Burleigh County, of which Bismarck was the county seat, and there learned to deal with the rough element which infested the country. He early learned to look down a gun barrel and has never forgotten the quality so acquired.

McKenzie's Shrewd Visions.

The early days in North Dakota were those in which transcontinental railroad construction was in its infancy. The Northern Pacific and Great Northern traversed the State, and McKenzie had shrewd visions of what North Dakota would finally become. Railroads ruled politically in those days and McKenzie established a connection with the late James J. Hill which lasted until the latter's death. He was Mr. Hill's political representative in North Dakota and for several years, in connection with the late Senator and other leaders, was czar of North Dakota politics.

A few years ago McKenzie admitted that the open season for bosses existed and announced his "retirement from politics." This merely was removing himself from the front line trench, where he was too conspicuous, to a strategic position in the rear. For many years North Dakota was run politically from rooms in the Merchants Hotel in St. Paul, where the Great Northern Railroad had its home, and McKenzie still makes the hotel his headquarters and summons his followers for conference there when he does not wish to appear openly in the State.

RESCUE BURNED MAN
AFTER STILL EXPLODES

Firemen Break Into Barred
Basement in East 12th St.

A fifty gallon still in the basement of the five story house at 220 East Twelfth street, exploded yesterday, blew out the windows, tore down ceilings and caused a crowd of several hundred persons to gather. A thick cloud of smoke rolled away, and Camello Captain, aged 22, screamed from behind the barred basement windows that his clothes were on fire.

Firemen broke into the basement door and sent Captain to Bellevue Hospital. He was burned by the alcohol flames, but not seriously. Captain had occupied the place two weeks.

STRUCTURE IS BURNED
WHERE SEWARD SPOKE

Cayuga County Court House,
Landmark, Destroyed.

AUBURN, N. Y., April 30.—The Cayuga County Court House was destroyed by fire this afternoon.

The building was a handsome landmark of Colonial type, erected early in the last century, and was the scene of William H. Seward's defense of the negro murderer, Freeman, first to use insanity as a defense in a murder case in the United States. The structure was surrounded by a dome, and this fell in an hour after the fire was discovered.

The vaults of the Cayuga county Surrogate are believed to be intact, but some of the records of the District Attorney, Sheriff and of lawyers in the outer rooms of the Surrogate's chambers were damaged, together with the law library in the chambers of Justice Reib.

MAN FREED OF MURDER
KILLS SON AND SELF

Dr. W. P. Allen, Suicide, Tries
to Slay Wife Also.

CHATTANOOGA, April 30.—Dr. W. P. Allen of Dayton, Tenn., who last December was acquitted of the murder of a young woman, member of a well-known Tennessee family, after one of the most sensational murder trials ever staged in this county, to-night killed his nine-year-old son, Walter P. Jr., attempted to kill his wife and committed suicide.

TELLS CROKER PLOT AGAINST ROOSEVELT

Depew Amazed by Message
Secretly Trying to Dictate
G. O. P. Nomination.

RULED CITY LIKE A KING

How Tammany Chieftain Was
Able to Foil Foes in His
Own Organization.

How Richard Croker attempted secretly to block the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt for Governor in 1898, just after Mr. Roosevelt's triumphal return from the Spanish war, was related for the first time last night by Chauncey M. Depew in describing "the only disagreeable incident" that ever occurred between him and the former Tammany boss.

It is an interesting commentary on the character of a man, all-powerful in his own party, who sought by indirect means to control the policies of the opposing party for his own ends. Croker had every reason to fear the intense popularity of Roosevelt at the time and with his political sagacity saw the defeat of the Democratic nominee if the candidacy was given to Roosevelt. Therefore, nothing must be left undone to defeat the purposes of the Republican party.

"I had but one disagreeable time with him," said Mr. Depew, in genial qualification of the praise he had bestowed upon Mr. Croker as a fearless leader and a square opponent, "and this is the way it came about:

"The Republicans had decided that Col. Roosevelt was to be nominated in the State convention, and the Colonel had asked me to be a delegate and to make the nominating speech. I told him I would be very glad to do so, and the fact was instantly published. I was then president of the New York Central Railroad.

"One day before the convention met Senator Patrick McCarren of Brooklyn came into my office and said 'I have a message for you which, personally, I am ashamed to deliver. Mr. Croker has sent me to say to you that if you make that speech nominating Col. Roosevelt in the Republican convention he will resent it on your railroad.'

Aware of Croker's Power.

"I said: 'Senator McCarren, I have done my best to make every man in the employ of the railroad a citizen with the same rights as any man in any other business. So far as I am concerned, it is so understood among railroad men that they can have their political convictions just the same as other men, and I know Mr. Croker's power and the influence he can do the road.

"You can say to him that I am amazed at such a message coming from a man I have always found to be a square fighter, as this is a blow below the belt. I am going to make that speech, but before I make it I shall resign as president and director of the New York Central Railroad. And when I go to Mr. Roosevelt in nomination before the convention of the State of New York I will then say why I resigned."

"Mr. McCarren replied that it would leave the ticket, and I replied I knew it would, but it would vindicate my manhood. Senator McCarren returned in a short time and said: 'Mr. Croker wishes you to forget that message. His own words were: "It is withdrawn. I am very badly advised."

"That ended the entire incident," Mr. Depew added, "and I have never mentioned it from that day to this."

"Turning to the real subject of Mr. Croker's personality and power Mr. Depew said:

"He was a king, and New York was his kingdom. He was the absolute master of the city, such as I don't believe could ever exist again, and the Mayor and the heads of the various city departments recognized him as the absolute controlling power.

"I said to him once during the conduct of the city government. How do you know that things are being properly managed? Mr. Croker replied: 'I go down the City Hall every day and go through the departments and see what is going on. Of course, I get many complaints, and when I do I investigate them, and if I find any one at fault I take them to task.'

"Once, when I suggested that there must be innumerable conspiracies being plotted to overthrow his power, he replied: 'Yes, there are combinations constantly being formed, but when the conspirators or rebels reach as many as five somebody always gives them away, and then I have no trouble.'

No Future Dictator Likely.

"The absolute domination of one man could not occur again," Mr. Depew said emphatically, "because there is no public opinion and more independence. Any leader that would attempt to dictate in that manner now would be de-throned."

"He was an exceedingly able and forceful leader, and the railroad had to recognize him as the ultimate controlling power, just as did the Mayor and the city officials. His outstanding characteristics were his intense loyalty to those who were loyal to him and his quick punishment of those who were unfaithful. And he was perfectly fair.

When he thoroughly understood a subject and made up his mind about it he did, or had the city do, what he thought was right.

"Of course, he didn't always do what I thought was right between the city and the railroad, but I always had absolute faith in the honesty of his judgment. He was always a fair opponent and never attempted to take undue advantage except in the case I have just cited."

Mr. Depew and Mr. Croker were not personal friends; they were separated by party lines and by social ties, so the two rarely met except as I have just said. Mr. Depew would drop into my office for what he would call 'a friendly chat,' but what really was a scouting expedition for information. He used to pay calls of this kind on the prominent men of the day, the bankers and lawyers, and in that way kept in close touch with everything that was going on in the city in other fields than the political.

CROKER CHANGED BEQUESTS IN WILL

Continued from First Page.

terested Mr. Croker when he was here the last time. He talked much about it and reached the conclusion that it was a bad thing, because it had to great dissatisfaction among workmen and those who could not afford to buy liquor at prohibitive prices.

Tammany men in every clubhouse, in fact politicians here and throughout the State, sat down yesterday and talked of the old days. Croker's death had brought back memories of the political events of his fighting career. The old timers who knew him and who fought behind him recalled the campaigns and the victories he won. They were recalled the days of Cleveland and Tilden, of the great struggles between David B. Hill and Tom Platt, in which Croker always was a factor, and then the later days of Bryan's thrilling campaigns.

Grady and Croker Recalled.

Tom Grady and Bourke Cockran were the silver tongued orators of those days and in his fights in the State conventions with Hill they did the talking for Croker. Croker had little ambition to control the State, but he was ready to fight in a second when Hill or any other State leader tried to intrude into his domain. In one of his fights with Grover Cleveland Croker turned Tom Grady loose, and the result was that Cleveland asked the Tammany leader to call off Grady and not let him go back to the State Senate. Croker opposed Bryan, but when the Nebraska ran the second time the Tammany leader came home to take charge of the campaign and gave a New York plurality. John Sheehan had been in charge of the organization and Croker returned from Europe to take a hand because he was being charged with desertion.

One of his political rules was to support the party's candidates no matter how much he had opposed the nomination. After Hill retired as State leader and his ambitions no longer clashed he and Croker became good friends and often talked over their many fights in State conventions. Another characteristic of Croker was that he never bore resentment.

Throughout his leadership Croker was a close friend of the biggest financiers in the city. Anthony Brady and Thomas Fortune Ryan were his intimate friends and through them he obtained information that meant real money in Wall Street.

For years Mr. Croker's headquarters was at the Democratic Club, and he also lived there. He spent most of his evenings at the club and the leaders knew they could always find him there. Newspapers had no difficulty reaching him at any time. In those days the Sullivan, Tom Foley, John Sexton, Police Commissioner, Dan McMahon and Peter Maher were factors in Tammany Hall, and they all had the Democratic Club habit because the chief did. Leaders came from their districts, then and were not hand picked, for in the Croker days there was not the elaborate election machinery and the primary as they exist now, and the district leader was a real factor in the organization.

Toward the latter days of his leadership Croker began staying abroad longer in the summer and the leaders did not take kindly to it. Croker insisted for several years that it was the only way he could get rest, but the old club crowd never got quite used to it and his frequent absences weakened his leadership toward the end.

Charles F. Murphy was the leader of the gas house district during that period and was gradually getting stronger. Governors and Senators went to see Croker. He seldom if ever took the trouble of going to see them.

Tribute From Connors.

William J. Connors of Buffalo, formerly chairman of the Democratic State Committee and for years a personal and political friend of Mr. Croker, sent the following telegram to THE NEW YORK HERALD:

"It was with a great deal of regret that I learned to-day the news of the death of Richard Croker. I had known Mr. Croker for the last forty years. He was my friend and I prized his friendship very much. He was a man of high ideals, a forceful and fair fighter and a brilliant scholar. He met with every success in political life because of these excellent traits and his wonderful loyalty. We were inseparable friends and spent many happy hours together each winter during his visits to Palm Beach, where we were neighbors. All I can say is that he was a grand old gentleman. He will be missed by all and I am deeply shocked at the sad news."

CROKER'S LAST HOURS
PEACEFUL AND HAPPY

Ready to Go, He Said, When
Vault Was Completed.

BUFFALO, April 30 (Associated Press).—The last moments of Richard Croker were peaceful and happy. The former leader of Tammany Hall passed away with resignation, in the presence of his wife, her brother-in-law, R. D. Garrett of Oklahoma; Dr. Lennon of Dublin, and Father Kelly, the parish priest.

The American flag flew at half mast over the residence of Mr. Croker, Glencairn Castle, to-day. Burial will take place in the vault in the grounds of Glencairn Castle, the erection of which Mr. Croker superintended himself. The vault was completed a week ago last Thursday, when the old political leader remarked, "I'm ready to go now." A public funeral is not likely, as Mr. Croker expressed the wish that he be laid to rest quietly. As the casket must come from London, the funeral probably will take place Thursday.

HARPERS TO ABANDON
DOWNTOWN BUILDING

Mechanical Departments Will
Go to Camden.

Harper & Brothers are going to desert. Franklin square and the picturesque iron columned building that the concern has occupied for nearly seventy years. A desire to get further uptown, probably in the Grand Central Terminal district, so that the company will be nearer the book-selling agencies, is the reason given for the change.

Thomas B. Wells, vice-president, denied yesterday a report that labor difficulties had impeded the move, which includes the transfer immediately of the printing and bookbinding departments to Camden, N. J. The editorial and executive offices of the printing concern will continue in the Franklin square building until suitable quarters further uptown have been located or built.

The mechanical departments will move into the plant of the Hadden Press in Camden, under an arrangement whereby the Hadden Press will do the printing and binding work on a contract basis. The Hadden Press, under the arrangement, will take in most of the heads of the departments of Harper & Brothers. The entire personnel of the printing and binding departments have been offered the opportunity of continuing by removing to Camden.

The Fashion in Paris Is a Passion for Pearls!

OUR latest importation of Tecla Pearls from Paris—just in!—is not only new, but news! They are the *dernier cri* in jewels. The Parisienne wears them habitually, and has herself set a very definite fashion for certain nuances of shade and niceties of size, which are implicitly reproduced in our latest displays just arrived from abroad.

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(Fourth Floor)

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Thirty-fourth Street
Thirty-fifth Street

CORRECTION

Through an error in setting the Boston Globe advertisement that appeared in The New York Herald on April 26, 1922, the Sunday circulation for the month of March was given as 932,536. The correct figures according to copy furnished The Herald were

Boston Sunday Globe
329,536
Net Paid Circulation for the Month of March